567 326 Dagomba conquest. Both family type and slave status, indeed, refer back to the Bobo, Gourounsi, etc.

000 We come now to public powers. We refer the reader to Appendix 32 /not translated/ for a study of property regulations and neighborhood relations, and plunge forthwith into the study of public powers.

631 We already know that the Mossi political organization is centralized. The villages belong to cantons, which are in turn gathered into provinces under direct administration or into mere vassal provinces. At the summit of the hierarchy stands the king, the Moro Naba, the supreme chief of the Mossi, who lives at Ouagadougou. To give an idea of the former importance, or at least relative importance, of this empire, we shall state that in the Ouagadougou [162] circle alone there were eight provinces including among them 300 cantons, 5,000 villages or small towns, and 861,700 inhabitants.

643 Let us begin our description of this political organism with the head, that is, with the Moro Naba.

Moro Naba means "chief of the Mossi," from naba, "chief" and Moro or Mora which means Mossi in the singular. Moro yields Mossi or Mossé in the plural. (The French have grown accustomed to saying "one Mossi, several Mossi," but this is a barbarism and one should /568/ actually say, "one Moro, several Mossi," just as one says, "one Gourounga, several Gourounsi," "one Kipirga, several Kipirsi," etc.). As for the word for "chief," it is both naba and soba in Mossi. Naba seems to be the word brought by the con- [192] quering Mossi-Dagomba group, while soba is probably the word that was used by the autochtonous population to designate chiefs.

645 Prior to the French conquest, the Moro Naba was surrounded by a certain number of ministers or eminent dignitaries who were given 1) specific duties /at court/, 2) in addition, part of the territory to govern. This is what accounted for provinces over and above the cantons, at least in those areas that were administered directly, but the heads of those provinces did not reside there. They lived at Ouagadougou, and were first and foremost ministers of the Moro Naba.

They were:

596 even the compound. As a rule, the work group is not composed of a single household but of two or more. We are dealing here, therefore, with a highly disintegrated communal family. Let us state immediately that the family among the Foulsé /Fulse/ and Yarsé /Yarse/, which we shall describe later /not translated/, is less disintegrated than the Mossi family, while the Samo family is even less so than the Foulsé and Yarsé families.

611 As far as matriarchy and patriarchy are concerned, the Mossi family of Yatenga is patriarchal, that is to say, the family revolves around the man rather than the woman. This is a clearly documented fact. There are, however, some indications, as we shall see, that permit us to inquire whether once upon a time, very long ago, the Mossi family was not matriarchal. In our Noir du Soudan /The Black Population of the Sudan/ we pointed out various indications of the same sort about the Gourounsi /Grunshi/.

In sum, the Mossi family of Yatenga is (1) communal and quite disintegrated and (2) patriarchal.

592 596 ●162 Examples. —Let us first list some statistical figures. Here is a table summarizing some important censuses taken among the Mossi of Yatenga.

Localities	Families	Compounds	Number of Persons
Diogoré and Lako (small cantons)	25	78	3, 165
Small canton of Tangay	11	51	1, 241
Village of Dio	7	50	842
Totals	43	179	5, 248

This set of figures yields an average of 122 persons per family, four compounds or iri or zaka per family, and 29 persons per compound.

Now for some details.

In the village of Tangay (canton of Tangay) there are 11 Mossi families. Here are the figures for the persons who compose them and the compounds where they live.

592
596
162

Families	Compounds	Number of Persons
1st family	1	51
2nd family	6	132
3rd family	2	23
4th family	6	160
5th family	3	59
6th family	5	50
/225/ 7th family	9	136
8th family	3	79
9th family	8	242
10th family	4	158
11th family	4	151
	51	1, 241

592
596
162
621

This gives us an average of 113 persons per family, 5 compounds per family, and 24 persons per compound.

Now, here are the villages in the little canton of Lako or Lago.

Villages	Families	Compounds	Number of Persons
Bô	2	3	89
Boulounsi	1	3	137
Ninga	2	12	146
Piga-Sorodé	1	2	35
Réga	4	17	484
Viré-Sorodé	3	4	242
Diogoré	1	8	352
Lako	7	25	1, 457
Touba	3	3	216
Nango-Yarsé (Mossi of the village)	1	1	7
Totals	25	78	3, 165

592
596 This gives us an average of 126 or 127 persons per family, 3 compounds per family, and 40 or 41 people per compound.
162 Now, here are some other statistics.
621

Villages	Families	Compounds	Households	Number of Persons
Lougouri	2	4	48	157
Oula	2	5	43	149
Réka	1	2	3	46
Noungou	2	14	46	233
Zíré	1	3	36	197
Kindiba	7	35	149	736
Diesséré	5	15	49	286
Bissigaï	4	17	100	510
Bougounam	8	32	151	999
Totals	32	127	625	3, 313

/226/ On an average, this gives us 103 or 104 persons per family, 26 persons per compound, 5 persons per household, 4 compounds or soukala per family.

Here are some statistics collected in the canton of Koussouka and covering those villages which are entirely Mossi as well as those which are predominantly Mossi.

Villages	Families	Compounds	Households	Population
Rondo	7	72	148	975
Bouga-Mossi	1	11	23	152
Sékéba	1	9	28	183
Zandoma	3	24	62	344
Tangué	7	26	67	439
Konga-Mossi	3	23	72	483
Iroum	2	63	159	880
Totals	24	228	559	3, 456

592 Here we get an average of 144 persons per family, 15 persons per
596 compound, and 6 persons per household. This gives 2 or 3 households
162 per compound and 9 to 10 compounds per family.
261 Finally, here are some figures obtained among the Mossi in the northern part of the /Ouahigouya/ circle /a circle is an administrative district/.

Villages	Compounds	Persons	Average per Compound	Observations
Boulzoma	1	39 (1)	39	(1) 7 households
Aoréma	50	672	13	
Bogoya	29	379 (2)	13	(2) 64 households
Yabonsoro	37	494 (3)	13	(3) 74 households
Bagayaloro	14	290	21	
Barélogo	17	317	19	
Lilligondé	12	177	15	
Rikou	33	486	15	
Dinghiri	59	725	12	
Dinghila	44	362	8	
Irigué	17	94	6	
Bahn (Mossi)	3	54	18	
Pogoro	38	334	8	
Ninighé	7	75	11	
Séghé	8	111	14	
Tibo	19	228	12	
Totals	388	4, 837	12 to 13	

Here we have only 12 or 13 persons per compound (and 6 per household). This shows an evolution of the Mossi family of Yatenga toward /227/ a more disintegrated form, which we shall discuss later when we mention the exceptions.

If we summarize the preceding statistics, we obtain the following table.

592
596
162
261

Locations	Families	Compounds	Persons
Diogoré, etc.	43	179	5, 248
Oula, etc.	32	127	3, 313
Koussouka	24	228	3, 456
Northern part	?	369	4, 609
	?	903	16, 626

This gives us on an average 18 to 19 persons per compound and 121 persons per family (1).

1. This figure of 18 to 19 persons is an average one. Actually, there are some Mossi compounds which contain only 3 persons and others which boast as many as 100. To give a better idea of the matter, I shall provide below a numerical breakdown of the village of Diessiré (canton of Léba) where there are 286 persons and 15 compounds, or an average of 19 persons per compound. In reality, no one compound holds exactly 19 people.

Compounds	Households	Persons
First compound	4	24
Second compound	3	18
Third compound	1	6
Fourth compound	2	11
Fifth compound	4	23
Sixth compound	3	17
Seventh compound	1	5
Eighth compound	2	12
Ninth compound	2	12
Tenth compound	1	6
Eleventh compound	2	12
Twelfth compound	14	81
Thirteenth compound	3	18

162
592
596
621

Fourteenth compound	6	36
Fifteenth compound	1	5
	49	286

This gives us, therefore:

Compounds with several households (more than two)	7
Compounds with several households (two)	4
Compounds with a single household	4
	15

Now that these statistics have been listed, let us examine in detail the groupings larger than the single household, which may be categorized as follows: (1) the total family; (2) the compound; (3) the work group.

596 The total family. —As we stated earlier, the total family /228/ does not occupy one and the same compound. It is divided into a number of zaka or iri of varying size (the average number given by the above statistics is five). One of these compounds is that of the boudoukasaman or head of the family, who governs the whole family and is at the same time the head of his own zaka and head of his work group. As head of the family, he holds definitively only three types of powers: (1) religious powers; (2) judicial powers; (3) the right to give the daughters of the whole family in marriage.

As head of the family, he has no economic powers.

We shall study the religious powers of the boudoukasaman in detail under "Religion (Sacerdotal Organization)" /not translated/. Let us [592] simply state here that although the head of the total family holds the highest religious powers, the zakasoba or heads of compounds are not totally deprived of them, and this contributes to the greater autonomy of these subfamilies.

I am borrowing the following particulars on the family head and the family council which assists him from Vadier's excellent monograph, here and there correcting some inexact details.

"The head of the family, or patriarch," says Vadier, "is the oldest member of the family. It is he who is the head of it.

"He enjoys great authority over all family members, but exclusively in regard to personal matters. To him alone, after obtaining the consent of the fathers, belongs the right to give the young girls of the

596 182 592 Here the zaka is quite clearly reduced to the single household, which becomes identified at the same time with the compound and with the work group. Let us state, however, that in the whole of Ratenga there are 4, 637 Mossi for 458 compounds, or ten persons per compound. An average of ten people per compound represents slightly more than a single household (which averages six persons in Yatenga), but not as much as two households. This means that the compounds sometimes contain two households, sometimes only one. Thus, since there are only a few people in each zaka, there is but a single work group.

162 592 621 Here is a complete numerical breakdown of the canton of Ratenga.

Villages	Inhabitants	Compounds	Average per Compound
Napalra	254	20	13
Ouembatenga	61	5	12
Alaga	335	22	15
Boulounga	197	23	9
Bani	387	30	13
Singuitenga	248	18	14
Boudé	69	11	6
Foulgo-Koquin	22	5	4
Zomkalga	88	12	7
Momoné	86	10	9
Toïsi	100	13	8
Denian	4	1	4
Pinsi	145	13	11
Dologa	110	15	7
Kiédéwendé	103	10	10
/233/ Koundi-Bittou	63	9	7
Yalka	56	4	14
Koumbango	221	19	12
Kourpellé	167	15	11
Zimtenga	307	39	8
Battenga	94	11	9
Badnoro	83	10	8
Douré	96	6	16
Yalgatenga	45	8	6

162
592
621

Villages	Inhabitants	Compounds	Average per Compound
Bargo	77	8	10
Lo	127	14	9
Rakoéga-Tenga	33	4	8
Moro-Koquin	37	7	5
Dougouré	41	7	6
Bama	82	7	12
Kora	99	9	11
Tangué	110	14	8
Minima	113	12	9
Kanion	75	10	7
Toukoulounga	124	4	31
Tempelra	35	6	6
Bauda	162	5	32
Kargo-Mossi	181	22	8
	4, 637	458	10

The same applies to the Mossi of the canton of Tougo, located south-southeast of Yatenga. Here are the figures concerning the number of compounds and the number of people in the canton.

Villages	Compounds	Persons	Average per Compound
Tibtenga	9	102	11
Béma	96	792	8
Ouembatenga	9	76	8
Rima	63	347	5 to 6
Tougo	69	937	13 to 14
Lébenga	4	40	10
Danaoua	22	229	10
Rasoumdé	27	189	7
Mangoulouma	2	28	14
Rikéba	52	545	10 to 11
Totals	353	3, 285	9 to 10

B
M
E
162
3: Paques--7A S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8
Mossi FA28
Wolof M530

Recapitulatory Table by Circles (General Population), 1950
Established by the Bureau of Political Affairs of the Sudan General Government

Races et territoires A. O. F. Africains de statut commun et de statut personnel	Bafoulabé	Bamako	Bandiagara	Bougouni	Gao	Goundam	Issa-Ber Niafunké	Kayes	Kita	Koutiala	Mopti	Nioro	San	Ségou	Sikasso	Tombouctou	Total pour le territoire
Bellat						35.026											35.026
Bambara	994	299.074	21.538	110.000		20.765	13.896	3.200	33.536	20.530	20.973	42.424	202.617	9.082	293		798.922
Peul	10.200	8.213	97.001		11.095	12.875	71.258	1.962	200	3.217	33.318	39.831	15.297	77.595		1.822	383.884
Mossi	28	857	4.043		61		135	234		49	27.955		303	4.832		9	38.506
Marka	150	27.746					4.381	29.519	3.000	8.100	26.870	112.776	30.679	21.553	406		265.180
Songhaï		647	9.962		102.712	62.821	1.025			454	6.000		625			26.518	210.764
Malinké	68.753	62.671	2	4.932				11.503	53.530			3.598	52				206.041
Minianka		400	3							125.551	500		29.697	2.843			158.994
Maures		2.958	433		19.266	2.743		3.536		67		9.313				15.502	53.818
Senoufo		300	1	10.000						15				228	117.588		128.132
Touareg		20	19		77.640	17.007	252									58.599	153.537
Samogo		150	4.999												26.218	8	31.375
Foula Bambara		9.600		42.100					21.600	182				2.444	22.673	15	98.614
Bobo		500								11.933	2.570					1	15.004
Bozo		400	22			1.582	4.916				18.000		61.712			83	86.715
Kassonkés	23.800	600						20.297				5.734	474	23.447		9	74.361
Dioula	270	11.050								6.958					29.333		47.611
Toucouleurs		700	1.781					23.574	320		1.500	19.680		84	934		48.573
Kagoro		17.395							5.010			4.492					26.897
Somono	4	5.748						1.762			7.000						14.514
Marka Bambara	13.350	750	8.115	885			4.381							14.787		28	42.296
Diallonke	5.100	100							4.600					5.112		8	14.920
Peuls berberisés													60				60
Ouolofs	76	700	68		3	1	7	1.055	132	4	25	2.139	2	65	23	28	4.328
Ouassoulounké	3.200		2	41.000				8.790				1.675					54.667
Diawara	2.500		274									33.785					36.559
Diewambé	2.520	150							515		3.500	4.143		1.684			12.512
Diakanke																	2.016
Dogon		386	157.966				20.675			30	680		3.779				183.516
Guirganke			42									1.620					1.662
Divers	726	48.340	2.209	346	11.187	3.820	1.725	889	13.421	569	9.925	1.148		12.527	727	192	107.751
TOTAUX	133.671	499.455	308.480	209.263	221.964	136.875	129.520	117.017	105.328	100.665	158.373	260.907	185.104	369.818	206.984	103.115	3.336.739

* Races and territories French West Africa - Africans of public status and of personal status.

** Others

B M 162

	City	Central Subdivision	Koulikoro Subdivision	Kolokani Subdivision	Dioïla Subdivision	Kourémalé Subdivision
Bambara	19,000	93,974	56,048	59,930	68,310	812
Peul	1,000	2,074	4,251	500	350	38
Mossi	500		157	200		
Marka	1,000		26,746			
Habbe	250		136			
Songhai	450		197			
Malinké	3,200	32,434	139			26,898
Minianka	400					
Moors	2,600		358			
Sénoufo	300					
Touareg	20					
Samo	150					
Foula-Bambara	600				9,000	
Bozo	400					
Bobo	500					
Kassonké	600					
Dioula	5,200			850	5,000	
Toucouleur	700					
Kagoro	100		3,795	13,500		
Somono	500	804	3,454		300	690
Marka Bambara	150				600	

(continued)

[Bamako circle] [population division of Ethnic groups]

3: Paques--8 S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8 Mossi FA28

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
FA28 Mossi FA28
[Pre-World War II Period]

economic development should take precedence over everything else in the colonies. The Mossi were to be directly affected by the policies of both Van Vollenhoven and Sarraut. The colony of Haut-Sénégal et Niger was suppressed in March 1919, and replaced by the new colony of Upper Volta, in which the Mossi were the chief ethnic group. Moreover, Ouagadougou was chosen as the administrative center of this new colony.[19]

The new Governor of the Upper Volta, Edouard Hesling, who arrived in Ouagadougou in November 1919, sympathized with Van Vollenhoven's views, but was even more interested in economic development. He was determined to transform Ouagadougou from a small town with an indigenous population of about 8,000 and some 76 European soldiers, merchants, and missionaries, into a capital worthy of a colony. Shortly after he arrived, he summoned the Mogho Naba and the traditional ministers and had them recruit some 2,000 salaried and unsalaried men to provide enough mud bricks and wooden beams to complete the construction of eleven administrative buildings before the rainy season began the following May.

Hesling and his administrators believed that the Upper Volta, a country "with such diverse products and such a dense population, could attain an exceptional level of development by acquiring those economic elements which ensure prosperity."[20] Cotton was one of those elements. They believed that the Upper Volta "can and should export thousands of tons as soon as an easy and economical way of shipping is established."[21] By 1925, Hesling had constructed 6,000 kilometers of roads in the Upper Volta, about one-eighth the entire road network of French West Africa. Travelers in the Upper Volta at this time wrote of "the enforced enthusiasm with which the natives, under M. E. Hesling, have thrown themselves into agricultural labor and in particular into the planting of cotton."[22]

The administration of the Upper Volta continued to furnish Mossi manpower for the development of the other colonies as well as for the colonial army. In 1922, it was asked to furnish "6,000 workers for the Thies-Kayes railway, renewable every six months; and under the same conditions to furnish 2,000 laborers to build the railways in the Ivory Coast. Similarly, with the consent of the chief administrator of the colony, it was possible to recruit a thousand workers in the regions of Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso for private business in the Ivory Coast."[23] Londres, who visited the Upper Volta in the late 1920's, reports that Mossi country was known as "a 'reservoir' of manpower."[24] Burthe d'Annelet reports that during this same period, "The Minister of War [took] 45,000 men each year to compensate for the weakness of our metropolitan recruitment, and

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
FA28 Mossi FA28
[Pre - World War II Period]

175*
648*

trative and technical personnel serving in its capital available for general service."[80] But another, more important reason for dismembering the colony was to make available "to the Ivory Coast, a rich and prosperous colony with diversified environments and products, an abundant and disciplined labor force, which alone was lacking to infuse it with hopeful vigor."[81] According to the articles of a decree promulgated in January 1933, the Upper Volta was divided as follows: The cercle of Ouahigouya and part of the cercle of Dedougou, encompassing 52,400 square kilometers and 712,000 people, were attached to the Sudan; the cercle of Fada-N'-Gourma and Dori, with 70,700 square kilometers and 268,000 people, was attached to the Niger; Tenkodogo, Gaoua, Batie, Ouagadougou, Bobo-Dioulasso, and part of Dedougou were given to the Ivory Coast. The Ivory Coast by this change gained some 153,400 square kilometers and 2,019,000 people.

[131]
[162]

The Mossi chiefs resented the division of the lands conquered by Ouedraogo and Oubri, and while they never ceased to desire the reintegration of Mogho, they were powerless to do or say anything about it at the time. Many young French colonial officials also resented the division of the colony, and were eloquent in their denunciation of what they considered a moribund colonial policy. A member of the Upper Volta administration, Robert Delavignette, says in his obituary of the colony:

> These obscure masses: three million persons. . . . Once they represented a threat, although the thousands of horsemen of the Mogho Naba of Ouagadougou were defeated by the infantry squads of Captain Voulet in 1897. Soon the threat had diminished, but the matchless aggregate of villages remained. It was an alluring challenge to administrators. Let us mention briefly how they dealt with it. The more they pacified it, the more difficult their task became. The more they tried to impose upon it an open economy with a pattern of roads, urban centers, and cotton fields; and the more they tried to discover the vital principle of that economy in order to establish a new harmony between the land and these obscure masses, the more they broke down the old, set, traditional economy. . . . The heartland of the Upper Volta was indeed molded: 6,000 kilometers of roads, 100,000 hectares of collective fields, and a few urban centers built of mudbricks—all or almost all of this done by hand. No original methods or powerful tools were used, no inventiveness or clarity of purpose was shown. This was but a megalomanic copy of old patterns of mercantile exploitation, and [represented], in the heartlands, powerless, joyless work for those obscure masses.[82]

The criticisms of such officials as Delavignette and Henri Labouret persuaded the colonial administration to dispatch to Ouagadougou a higher